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HEALERS  
OTHER THAN  
THE SHAMAN  
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759 **T**HE singers and herb doctors, now to be considered, did not aspire to the dread name "shaman." True, they were called in after diagnosis, and often it was they who performed the cure. Yet they received only the pay given a neighbor who helped with house-building or harvest—a meal and good will for the future. Meantime the shaman might receive a horse or a cow. Yet the shaman went in danger of his life, avoided and feared as a potential sorcerer. The singer, by his activities, brought blessing on himself and on any who helped him.

One would expect an antagonism between the shaman and these intruders in his field. Obviously, their presence would not have been possible had not the Papago admitted several explanations of disease, each carrying with it its own form of cure. Their variety pushed the shaman into the position of diagnostician, where he was able to favor or to ignore the specialists as his "dreams" dictated. Gossip said that the shaman sometimes arranged his diagnosis so as to "throw business" toward his friends, but most informants denied this. "A shaman *had* no friends. People feared him too much."

FOR DISEASE CAUSED BY CEREMONIAL LAPSE

755 Probably the group of healers having least to do with the shaman was that of the ritualists who cured for ceremonial lapse.¹ Usually

¹ Russell says nothing about ceremonial lapse and its cure with the Pima. Nevertheless, he gives instances of curing by both Navitcu (p. 266) and the *vitikis* singers or "North People" with their effigies (p. 328n).

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

ribbons she wants and relieve her of work occasionally, so that she may join her friends. However, the domestic labor which she shares with all the women of her household is continuous and confining, and there is little time left for village visiting. Their common effort and well-nigh exclusive companionship results in close bonds of affection between the women. 883

A reputation for proficiency in the household arts helps the girl to make a good marriage. Even today, when marriages are no longer arranged on the basis of suitability to family needs, men look on industry (in the girl and her family) as an exceedingly valuable attribute, and it is a criterion in choosing a wife. 581

Papago girls are far from indifferent to their appearance. Dress and good looks occupy much of their time, thought, and conversation. Many dresses are bought in town, and these serve as models for homemade clothing. Girls wear low-heeled shoes, usually with ankle-length socks after the current fashion in the towns. Those in the western districts, who are nearer to white towns than the eastern girls, use cosmetics generously and wear a profusion of hair ribbons, pins, and other "store" ornaments. Baboquivari girls, though much more acculturated in other respects, are less inclined to imitate the fads of American and Mexican women, but they are not less interested in making a good appearance. 883
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A girl spends most of her leisure time with other girls of her age in the village, usually her cousins. Because young people often live some distance apart and leisure hours may not coincide, the group is usually small. There is a persistent tendency for each girl to seek out one other for close companionship. Some girls make stable and lasting friendships; others shift from one intimate to another. Young girls do not ordinarily stray far from the house cluster, and they often loiter around the ramada where the women of the household are working; here they discuss the latest gossip, make jokes, or plan for some important event. They may entertain themselves with picture magazines, and sometimes they weave baskets together. 883
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No one anticipates a fiesta with more pleasure than the teen-age girl. If the event takes place in her village, she joins the women in making paper flowers for the church and in preparing food for the guests. No girl goes to a fiesta by herself, and, if the celebration is in another village, she must be accompanied by one of the men of the family as well as by an older woman. Adolescent girls take no part in the religious phase of the celebration except perhaps to carry statues or candles in the procession. Dressed in their best, they sit together on the benches around the dance ground with the other women who wish to dance. 883
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[Text continues on p. 153. Analyst]

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The movement of the Desert People to permanent homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively new development. While Papagos have worked for Europeans for almost the entire period of contact, their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until recent years. The Papago economic base was never destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Overpopulation on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

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This class of Papago farm laborers is very new compared to natives living on South African farms. Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.¹

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The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have never visited the reserves.² A very few Papago year-round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

¹Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

²Ibid., p. 390.